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Emotion, Ritual, and the Individual. The Production of Community in Evangelicalism

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Zusammenfassung

This paper asks about the production of religious community in modern society: How can the success of a strict Evangelical community in a secularized environment be explained? To find an answer to this question, an approach to emotion based on Randall Collins' Interaction Ritual Chain theory is applied on data from participant observation in an Evangelical church in Switzerland. The weekly service as a highly orchestrated event characterized by a mutual focus and rhythmic entrainment imbues the communal symbols with emotions and plausibility. Through ritual interaction, three potentially disruptive communal tensions are transformed into solidarity: (1) highly transcendent theological concepts are translated into a simplified form which can be ritualised and gain immanence in the ritual actions of the participants, (2) the Evangelical emphasis on the individual and its religious decision on the semantic side are structurally transformed into the confirmation and reproduction of the community, (3) through the collectively shared emotions the potentially disruptive individual tendency towards immediate emotional gratification becomes aligned with the norms of the community.

Keywords: emotion, evangelicalism, interaction ritual, community, sociology of religion

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In Western Europe, religious communities are facing hard times: Catholic and mainline Protestant churches are confronted with a decline of membership and New Religious Movements seem to lose their communal form, as many of them disappear or diffuse into society. An example to the contrary are Evangelical churches, who are not only in the US more successful than denominations that are part of the Christian mainstream, but often also manage to increase the number of their members in Europe. This paper offers an attempt to understand the stability and growth of these communities, analyzing an Evangelical church based in Switzerland. It is argued here, that the main factor leading to this success are the communal rituals and that emotion is a central category for the understanding of the way these rituals function. In a first step, a general theory of emotion and ritual is formulated, drawing on Randall Collins' theory of interaction rituals.[1] Second, this model of the basic "mechanism" of the production of emotions is applied to the case in question. Third, the ritual production of emotions observed is analyzed in its communal context, as part of an "emotional regime",[2] the emotional order which plays a constitutive role for the community.

[1] Cf. Randall Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[2] Ole Riis & Linda Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 69.

1 A Sociology of Emotion and Ritual

In one of the most important classics of the sociology of religion, Durkheim's "Elementary Forms",[3] emotions were seen as a crucial factor of social order. But this emphasis remained by and large unnoticed. While Durkheim played a central role for the structural-functional mainstream, the interpretations of his works stressed the aspect of value integration, while interaction and emotions were at most of secondary importance, if not wholly neglected.[4] Further, the critique which led to the decline of structural-functionalist approaches in the 1960s was extended towards a critique of Durkheim, leading to a decreasing importance of his work. But from the 1990s onwards, the "useless Durkheim"[5] once again became "useful Durkheim"[6]. As Tilly had suspected, "sociologists always have one more version of Durkheim to offer when the last one had failed":[7] This revival was connected to the emerging sociology of emotions, as it emphasized those passages of Durkheim's "Elementary Forms" which focus on ritual interaction and emotion.[8] Emotion had gained momentum since 1975, mainly through publications of Arlie Hochschild, Thomas Scheff and Randall Collins.[9]

Albeit referring to Durkheim's "Elementary Forms", these sociologists don't focus primarily on religion, but on social reality in general.[10] Their new reading of Durkheim has not yet been sufficiently adopted among sociologists of religion, who prove to be, as Riis and Woodhead note,[11] particularly slow at catching up with the growing sociological interest in emotion.[12] As the category of emotion offers much for the understanding of

[3] Cf. Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse. Le système totémique en Australie* (Paris: Quadrige/Presses Universitaires de France, 1990).

[4] See for example Parsons, who saw the identification of "the intellectual formulation, part determinant, part expression, of the cognitive basis of common ultimate-value attitudes" as main contribution of Durkheim's sociology of religion. Albeit Parsons acknowledged that Durkheim saw "ritual as the primary element of religion and religious ideas as secondary rationalizations, explanations, justifications of ritual", rationalizations, not rituals became the focus of his own work. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action. A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1949), 426.

[5] Charles Tilly, *Sociology Meets History* (New York & London: Academic Press, 1981).

[6] Mustafa Emirbayer, "Useful Durkheim," *Sociological Theory* 14/2 (1996), 109-130.

[7] Tilly, *Sociology*, 107.

[8] Cf. Chris Shilling & Philip A. Mellor, "Durkheim, Morality and Modernity: Collective Effervescence, Homo Duplex and the Sources of Moral Action," *The British Journal of Sociology* 49/2 (1998), 193-209; Collins, *Interaction*; Jonathan S. Fish, *Defending the Durkheimian Tradition. Religion, Emotion and Morality* (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Theodore D. Kemper, *Status, Power and Ritual Interaction. A Relational Reading of Durkheim, Goffman and Collins* (Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).

[9] Cf. Theodore D. Kemper, "Themes and Variations in the Sociology of Emotion," in: Theodore D. Kemper (ed.), *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 3-23, 3.

[10] The same applies to their reading of the Elementary Forms, as they do not identify the interest in religion as main motivation of Durkheim, but his interest in the constitution of society in general which is intertwined with his epistemology. See for example Anne Warfield Rawls, *Epistemology and Practice. Durkheim's The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[11] Cf. Riis & Woodhead, *Sociology*, 208.

[12] This seems to be changing. See for example Jonathan S. Fish who brings Durkheim, religion, and emotion together. Cf. Jonathan S. Fish, "Religion and the Changing Intensity of Emotional Solidarities

religion in modern societies, this is to be seen as a shortcoming.

Dealing with emotion, the onerous task of defining it cannot be wholly ignored. Emotions constitute "a continuous flow of evaluative responses to situations".[13] This "flow of evaluative responses" has four components: (1) Bodily sensations (2) expressions and gestures which are connected with these bodily feelings (3) social situations or relationships that lead to the emotional response and (4) an emotional culture, that allows people to name, discuss and evaluate emotions.[14] Rather than constituting a system consisting of a specific kind of operation, emotion is a field in which systems of communication, systems of individual consciousness, and bodily processes can relate and refer to each other. This field can be studied by researchers from different disciplines with their specific research questions, methods, and categories. Doing so, they focus on different components: A neuropsychologist might be interested in synaptic activities connected with the experience of joy, while a social historian might rather look at the interrelation between the concept of love and the individualization of society. The perspective developed on the following pages looks at emotion as "a social thing", which is "not only formed in, but can be conceptualized as, a social relationship.".[15] The origins as well as the consequences of emotions are understood as part of social interaction.

Interaction Rituals

In his theory of Interaction Ritual Chains, Collins deals with the structure of agency at the microlevel. The micro-sociological perspective focuses on situations, namely, interactions based on bodily co-presence. Collins draws on Goffman's theory of IR and on a micro-sociological and conflict-theoretical reading of Durkheim. Such an approach stands in contrast to the functionalist approach with its macro-sociological focus on value-integration and the production of social order that also relied heavily on Durkheim. But while Parsons saw values as the necessary basis for social order, Collins sees values as "cognitions infused with emotion" and puts emotions in the very center of his sociological theory.[16] Doing so, he differs from ethnomethodological approaches, which also stress the micro-sociological aspects of the later Durkheim but do not rely on the category

in Durkheim's The Division of Labour in Society (1893)," *Journal of Classical Sociology* 2 (2002), 203-223; Fish, *Defending*. See also Randall Collins, "The Micro-sociology of Religion: Religious Practices, Collective and Individual," *The Association of Religion Data Archives. Guiding Paper Series* 2010; Joseph O. Baker, "Social Sources of the Spirit: Connecting Rational Choice and Interactive Theories in the Study of Religion," *Sociology of Religion* 71/4 (2010), 432-456.

[13] Jack M. Barbalet, *Emotion, Social Theory, and Social Structure. A Macrosociological Approach* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1998), 80.

[14] Cf. Steven L. Gordon, "Social Structural Effects on Emotion," in: Kemper (ed.), *Research*, 145-179, 151-152.

[15] Barbalet, *Emotion*, 62. See also Embirbayer, "Useful," 120.

[16] Randall Collins, "Stratification, Emotional Energy, and the Transient Emotions," in: Kemper (ed.), *Research*, 27-57, 27.

of emotion.[17] Following Durkheim,[18] Collins sees religion and solidarity as results of emotions that are seen as effects of social interaction and neither the effects of nature, nor the holy or "numinous" on human sentiments.

The term "interaction rituals" (IR) encompasses "formal rituals" which are to be understood as deliberately formalized interaction, as well as "natural rituals", a category that contains all kinds of encounters, for example conversation at a bus stop, that do not have an explicitly formalized basis and are usually not seen as "rituals" by their participants.[19] A condition for IR is bodily co-presence, as only such situations have the potential for shared perception and the mutual alignment of action and emotion.

IRs are based on a shared focus of attention of its participants. Such a shared experience forms the foundation for "emotional entrainment": Through bodily synchronization towards the common focus and the expression of emotion by the participants, they become mutually aware of each other's focus of attention. This leads to an alignment of bodies, as behavior, gestures, and actions become increasingly coordinated. Referring to conversation analysis and socio-linguistics, Collins[20] names conversations as paradigmatical case for such coordination, as they are based on highly synchronized turn-taking between the speakers. Conversation that is successful in the sense of offering heightened mood of its participants and unproblematic continuation is characterized by only one person speaking at a time, and the absence of silent pauses that are experienced as awkward.[21] Such rhythmically coordinated interaction is emotionally rewarding and emotionally contagious. Collective effervescence can build up on such a basis and, for example, culminate in bursts of laughter.[22] States of collective effervescence thus reached, whether they consist in collective joy or grievance, are characterized by heightened activity connected with bodily movements and a high noise level.

As laughter usually happens spontaneously and involuntarily, so is the synchronization based on the individuals "going with the flow", rather than on their conscious decisions. The "situational mood" prevails; the "spirit of the performance" is not pondered upon or questioned.[23] In many cases, interactions could not rely on conscious decision making as the rhythm underlying it is too fast as to allow for calculation of options by rational actors. From taking part in successful interaction, that is, from being fully and bodily absorbed in synchronized interaction, people derive "the strongest human pleasure".[24] This pleasure is neither achieved nor experienced in a reflexive way, but is based on emotions. This explains why people "automatically" fall into the rhythm and why they

[17] See for example Rawls, *Epistemology*.
[18] Cf. Durkheim, *Formes*, 293.
[19] Cf. Collins, "Stratification," 28; Collins, "Micro-sociology," 2.
[20] Cf. Collins, *Interaction*, 66.
[21] While rhythm might be a universal feature of IR, different cultural contexts come with different kinds of rhythm (Collins, *Interaction*).
[22] Cf. Collins, *Interaction*, 65.
[23] Collins, *Interaction*, 85.
[24] Collins, *Interaction*, 66.

tend towards the participation in situations that offers them such pleasures.

A non-verbal example for such emotional entrainment and bodily synchronization is rhythmic clapping, as can be observed when the audience cheers a high jumper during a track and field meeting: It is a collective action directed towards a common focus, further based on rhythmic entrainment and works without conscious individual decisions. Clapping hands happens automatically and the integration into the rhythm cannot be based on conscious pondering. The beat doesn't leave time enough to think about the next move; people either get the rhythm automatically, or they don't–and they feel and fit in much better if they do. The more coordinated and noisy the applause gets, the more forcefully it imposes itself over the individuals. Emotions and the ritual actions that come tith them take place below the threshold of reflexive awareness.[25] The concerted action and shared feelings results in collective effervescence, which Collins[26] describes as being manifested in "a feeling of being brought out of oneself into something larger and more powerful".

According to Collins, collective effervescence achieved in IR leads to four outcomes that are tightly interwoven:

(1) Emotion: In the course of a successful IR, participants mutually mirror and thus confirm their behavior. This leads to a feeling of enthusiasm and of rightness. As mentioned before, the involvement in an IR is not based on cognitive and rational decisions, but on its emotional appeal, on the degree of joy, confirmation, and confidence the individuals gain through their participation. Thus, Collins places emotion at the very center of this mechanism of IR and calls them the "x-factor" that makes social order possible.[27]

(2) Group solidarity: These emotions are attached and related to the group performing the ritual, which leads to the production of group solidarity. In ritual, reality is a collective matter, which is bestowed with enthusiasm and gains emotional prominence; in Durkheim's words "sacredness—Conventional social reality is a sacred object".[28]

(3) Moral standards: Following Durkheim further, Collins sees such IR as moments for the definition of moral standards. In their capacity of confirming social bonds, IR are the producers of morality.

(4) Symbols and emotional energy: For the three points just mentioned to become effective for meso- and macro-contexts, it must be possible to carry emotional attachment, solidarity, and moral obligations beyond the ritual moment. According to Collins, this is made possible through symbols. They become the focus of attention during the IR, are being charged up with the positive emotions that characterize the ritual situation and carry emotions and meaning beyond it. In order to specify the way this "emotional

[25] See also Barbalet, *Emotion*, 80.
[26] Cf. Collins, "Micro-sociology," 2.
[27] Collins, *Interaction*, 105.
[28] Collins, *Interaction*, 104.

generalization" takes place, Collins introduces the expression "emotional energy" (EE), that denotes long-term emotions[29] in contrast to emotions on short-term basis. Through these symbols, emotion can be transferred in the form of EE out of the ritual context into other situations.[30] As it is the case with emotion on the situational level, "emotionally-charged symbols motivate individuals when they are away from ritual encounters.".[31] Therefore, symbols can be seen as "batteries" for EE.

Following Collins, IR are the key mechanism for the production of EE, symbols and the commitment that connects the two. And as these products form the very foundation of social life, IR are the crucial process in the micro-production of social order.

Observing emotions

Riis and Woodhead[32] compare the situation of the sociologist studying emotions as similar to the "double hermeneutics" identified by Giddens, who points to the fact that sociology studies "phenomena which are already constituted as meaningful.".[33] The same applies to the study of emotion: The meaning that emotion has for the people that are part of the context which is being studied has to be taken into account. But according to Giddens, this meaning is not restricted to verbally explicated forms, it is also part of a "practical consciousness", of a tacit "mutual knowledge", that is being constituted in action and interaction.[34] In this form, it is not constituted in verbal communication, but in non-verbal interactions that can be observed by the sociologist. Such a focus on ritual practices is an important addition to the reconstruction of cultural meanings, which is more prominent in the study of religions. Approaches that mainly focus on values, beliefs, and symbols have the tendency to overstate the intellectual dimension of religion. Talal Asad[35] suspects such approaches to be influenced by Protestantism and its stress on belief and theology. Taking elemantary interactions and emotions into account, the sociology of religion can get beyond such restrictions. Interaction is not seen as the coordination of consciously selected and coordinated individual actions, but as a result of the dynamic of the situation that structures individual action and thought. In IR, emotions are seen to be at work largely beyond the threshold of awareness, and the EE that gets attached to the symbol does not have to be reflexively acknowledged to render it plausible.

Of course this does not lead to the abandonment of values and symbols as part of the

[29] Collins, *Interaction*, 105.
[30] Cf. Collins, *Interaction*, 107.
[31] Collins, "Stratification," 34.
[32] Cf. Riis & Woodhead, *Sociology*, 220
[33] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge & Malden: Polity Press, 1986), 284.
[34] Giddens, *Constitution*, 4.
[35] Cf. Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

subject matter of the sociology of religion. The replacement of a "rationalist bias" that can be found in parts of Weber's work[36] should not be replaced by an "emotional bias" of a Durkheimian sociology of religion. Emotions are not seen as opposed to values and rationality. Exactly because values and moral standards are ritually imbued with emotions they gain plausibility. Further, the "practical consciousness" at play in rituals is embedded in a context of meaning, that has to be taken into account, if the factors and consequences of ritual practice are to be understood by the observer. This paper tries to combine both dimensions: The next chapter mainly looks at the structural features of ritual and emotions, while the chapter after that brings the cultural dimension back in.

2 The Analysis of a "Celebration"

The case in question: International Christian Fellowship (ICF)

The "International Christian Fellowship" (ICF), based in Zurich, is a growing religious community with a typical evangelical outlook, characterized by the importance of the born-again (conversion) experience, which results in a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, the acceptance of the full authority of the Bible in matters of faith and the conduct of everyday life, and the importance of public witnessing of the faith and missionary activities.[37] Theologically and ritually, ICF is oriented towards American Evangelicalism, especially the Willow Creek community.[38] Founded in the 1990s, the constituency of ICF consists mainly of youth and young adults. Although affiliation to ICF is not based on formal membership, as a "sect"[39] it is based on clearly defined but permeable boundaries towards the outside.

The religious orientation of the community can be characterized by three points:

1. At the very core of the religiosity stands the *personal relationship with Jesus*. This relationship is pictured in analogy to human relationships like friendship or love, and like them, is the result of individual commitment.

2. In the sermons, religious concepts are not theologically elaborated upon, but they are illustrated through *story-telling in the first person*. Stories told by the preacher relate to

[36] Cf. Jürgen Gerhards, "Affektuelles Handeln - Der Stellenwert von Emotionen in der Soziologie Max Webers," in: Johannes Weiss (ed.), *Max Weber heute. Erträge und Probleme der Forschung (stw 711)* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), 335-357, 337; Barbalet, *Emotion*.

[37] Cf. Mark A, Shibley, "Contemporary Evangelicals: Born-Again and World Affirming," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 558 (1998), 67-87, 69.

[38] Cf. Mats Staub, "Prediger und Showmaster Gottes: theatrale Aspekte von Multimediagottesdiensten des International Christian Fellowship: im Vergleich zu evangelisch-reformierten Predigtgottesdiensten in Zürich," in: Andreas Kotte (ed.), *Theater der Nähe: Welttheater, Freie Bühne, Cornichon, Showmaster Gottes: Beiträge zur Theatergeschichte der Schweiz* (Zürich: Chronos, 2002), 427-550.

[39] Cf. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1972).

occurrences in his own life, framed by general questions like "What is sinful behavior?" that are answered with reference to the decisions undertaken in the story. A part of these narrations are exchanges with the listeners through rhetoric questions by the narrator and laughter or other expressions of emotion by the crowd.

3. The commitment to Jesus has to be confirmed which in moral *decisions* in everyday life. So the events recollected in the sermons typically culminate in a situation, in which the main character has to take a decision which is analogous to the general question that forms the background of the narration.[40]

In the ritual core of ICF – and the main empirical focus of this paper – are the so-called "Celebrations", a ritual with up to 2500 participants, taking place in a former industrial building. The central part of the Celebration is a sermon delivered which takes up to 30 minutes. The sermon is embedded in interludes in the form of stage play, music by a rock band on stage, and joint singing. The ritual is characterized by the interaction of the participants with the preacher and the band. These performances are backed by technological equipment like stage lighting and video screens. Although salvation cannot be achieved ritually in Protestantism, the rituals are of extraordinary importance for ICF as it is a means for spreading the gospel and the inducement of individual religious commitment.[41]

Fostering emotions

Looking for the production of emotion in the "Celebrations" of ICF, two points emphasized by Collins seem of major importance:[42]

First, the shared focus on attention: The focus lies on the stage and whatever is happening there. For the most part of the ritual, the preacher is on the stage. While being there, he is fully visible, as he does not hide behind a lectern or an altar. This shows the importance of bodily presence, stressed by Collins. His visibility is further amplified through huge video screens that are installed at several places in the hall. Sometimes, an object like a cross or a ladder is placed on the stage, but otherwise the stage is empty. For musical interludes, the band members enter the stage, but they leave after their

[40] For example, the preacher recollects a day during his vacation at a beach, where plenty of beach beauties were also relaxing. He remembers asking himself how far his glances and thoughts towards these desirable women may legitimately go. While he considers admiring their beauty to be acceptable, it would be sinful to start fantasizing what these women would look like without their clothes on. Such indecent thoughts about women he is not married to could not be reconciled with his commitment to a personal relationship with Jesus.

[41] Besides the collective worship, there are home groups; another ritual form typical of Evangelical communities. But as the Celebrations are the interface of the community towards society and as they constitute the emotional highlight of ICF, they will be focused on exclusively on the following pages.

[42] The following empirical analysis is based on participant observations, field notes by the author and audio recordings that were publicly available. Additional information was gathered in a group interview with members of the community studied.

performance, and the preacher, who has left during the music, enters again. Through a strict order regulating the stage presence, a "monopoly of attention" is produced.[43]

Secondly a high degree of intersubjectivity is attained, because whatever happens on stage is not one-way communication, but is rendered interactive. Typical for this activity are the performances by the rock band as they offer maximum interactivity through clapping, dancing, and singing, facilitated through lyrics shown on video screens. Due to this high degree of interactivity, the musical interludes become emotional highlights. Moreover, the sermon—in other traditions strict one-way communication—is interactive. It involves asking of Yes-or-No-questions and comical elements are deliberately woven into the text. The crowd reacts through verbal answers or laughter. This again leads the speaker to pause, reply, or smile. A rhythm sets in between what happens on the stage and in the audience. Once rhythmic entrainment gets going, it seems to become increasingly easy for the preacher to induce further cheers through remarks and jokes that might not produce much laughter outside the ritual situation. Through this interaction, the stage is not just the place where something is being presented but it becomes the very center of interaction, of concerted activity. The own behavior and what is happening coincides and is mutually confirming.

The usage of video technology and light facilitates the commonality and mutuality of attention and ritual action: The huge video screens serve to enhance the common focus by showing what is taking place on stage, mainly close-ups of the preacher. Text is only shown in case of short quotes from the bible that are being discussed or the lyrics of a song being performed. The screens never show anything that isn't in tune with the actions and emotions taking place in the hall. Further, the showing of video clips is by and large avoided as such clips would be mere one way communication. What is being displayed on the screen would not react like the actors on stage. Not having anyone responding to the ritual actions would drain off emotion from situation and participants.

As the focus of attention is a central variable, also the lighting of the site is relevant. The tribune, on which the participants are seated, is left almost completely in the dark, while the stage is bathed in light. This has several ritual consequences: First, passive behavior, hesitation, and arrhythmic movements by individuals and what, following Goffman,[44] could be called the expression of "role distance" cannot be perceived. Second: Even absence is not noticeable. The participants do not notice whether the hall is full or not, so the impression of an empty or unsuccessful church does not come to mind; empty ranks which would lead to the inversion of the "emotional multiplier effect"[45] in large crowds cannot be perceived. Third: Due to the darkness, there is no possibility for

[43] Totally different in this regard are for example Catholic services. In Catholic church goers, there is a lot to see besides the proceedings around the altar. In ICF, the Protestant rejection of images opens the possibility for a strict focus on the preacher.

[44] Cf. Erving Goffman, *Encounters. Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction* (Indianapolis & New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1961).

[45] Riis & Woodhead, *Sociology*, 153.

distraction; browsing through one's own bible is not possible, which for example would allow to put the Bible passage that's being discussed into context.[46]

Curbing emotions

Following Collins, the level of emotion can be measured through the noise level and the intensity of movement and utterances by the participants.[47] The more emotional the interaction is, the more solidarity is produced. But such an equation proves to be too simple, if the perspective of the people who organize the ritual is taken into account: For them, it is not emotion for the sake of emotion; they want to direct the emotions in a certain way. A specific message has to be passed on and rendered plausible. Even if the mechanisms for the creation of collective effervescence in an evangelical service and a rock concert are structurally similar, both are embedded in and shaped by specific interests and interpretations. While the absence of emotion would be deleterious for the religious purpose of the ritual, it would be equally detrimental if emotions get out of hand. The question about the production of emotions has to be complemented with the question how emotions are restricted.

First, the darkness on the tribune makes competing foci of attention nearly impossible. Emotional outbreaks of participants, which, for example, might be welcome in services of Pentecostal congregations, are not part of a strictly evangelical concept. If they would happen anyway, they would do so in the dark, remain unnoticed, and due to the high level of noise, they could not be heard. Second, the darkness allows for lower levels of emotions. Newcomers will probably not reach the level of emotional participation the others have. To be confronted with too much of an obtrusive emotional frenzy, they might feel uncomfortable. The darkness allows them to attend passively and mostly unnoticed. Therefore, the darkness lowers the threshold for participation which is an important factor in dealing with new members.[48] Third, the sound level is subject to strict control by technical personnel which keeps the volume of the loudspeakers under a defined level during the musical interludes. The sound level, and, through this, the audience, is kept well-tempered, because after the evangelical rock music, they should be able to listen to the sermon – it is not a rock concert after all. If the band would attract excessive emotions during the musical interludes, it would pose a challenge to the preacher.

As the use of technology shows, the way emotions are fostered and curbed is a result

[46] The impact of smart phones, which offer a variety of distractions even in the dark, on religious rituals would be a relevant topic of research.

[47] Cf. Collins, *Interaction*, 134.

[48] This shows that the Celebration opens a gateway for outsiders rather than putting a stress on boundaries between "us" and "them". This leads to a modification of Collins' supposition, that religious worship rituals are emphasizing "barriers to outsiders". On the contrary, rituals which are part of missionary activities might generally try to lower barriers to newcomers. Cf. Collins, "Micro-sociology," 6.

of deliberate organization. Ritual success is the result of planning, and is not based on improvisation. Ritual and emotions are the outcome of an emotional regime that prescribes not only the content but also the form of the Celebrations. Therefore, "ritualism" and "effervescence" are not to be seen as completely antagonistic as Douglas[49] suggested, but the Celebrations are in effect an organized ritualistic production of effervescence. From the viewpoint of sociologist Douglas' distinction applies insofar, as the effervescence achieved is not to be understood as spontaneous expression but by emotions and expressions orchestrated from above.

The collective effervescence of the Celebrations and the feelings of joy and enthusiasm that come with it are short-term emotions. To gain relevance in everyday life and to contribute to the community, they have to be transformed into long-term emotions, in Collins' words, emotional energy.

Emotional energy as confidence

The micro-structuralist concept of IR allows the reconstruction of how symbols are ritually charged with emotion and carried into the community, where they continue contributing to group solidarity as EE. Collins' concept of emotion and EE remains at a high level of generality, as the differentiation between different kinds of emotion is not part of the core model. He conceptualizes emotion as a one-dimensional variable that can be measured by the degree of collective effervescence.[50] Even if the basic model fits well with the ritual discussed here, the empirical perspective allows to further characterize the "x" in Collins' x-factor emotion for the case in question, as "confidence" can be identified as the form of EE at play.

Such identification is in accordance with Durkheim who uses the term "confidence" (confiance) repeatedly to characterize the effects of ritual and religion on individuals.[51] In collective rituals, the symbols, the communal memories and values gain strength, the individuals feel growing confidence in the community and themselves.[52] The term confidence is more specific than the notion of EE, as it denotes "not merely energy, undirected and differentiated only by degree (...) the object of confidence is the actor's prospective behavior.".[53] Confidence does not have to be motivation based on conscious commitment by the actors themselves. Following Barbalet,[54] the emotion of confidence does not depend on the awareness of the individual and is rather to be seen as disposition than as

[49] Cf. Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 103-104.

[50] This, of course, doesn't mean, that Collins wouldn't acknowledge that there are different kinds of emotion. See for example Collins, "Micro-sociology".

[51] He even considers it to be one of the contributions of religion: "En même temps qu'une discipline spirituelle, toute religion est une sorte de technique qui permet à l'homme d'affronter le monde avec plus de confiance.". Durkheim, *Formes*, 272.

[52] Cf. Durkheim, *Formes*, 536-567.

[53] Barbalet, *Emotion*, 87.

[54] Cf. Barbalet, *Emotion*, 84.

motivation. To characterize the emotion of confidence further, Barbalet's distinction of three different aspects of confidence is helpful: First as belief about the ability of another person to perform a particular task, second as certainty about future developments and finally as "confidence in oneself, indicating a willingness to act".[55] Certainty and confidence are central in the emotional dispositions produced in the ritual observed here: Through the confirmation of symbols in ritual interaction, the individual feels assured in its actions and its interpretation of the world. Emotionally backed by successful interaction, people "feel righteous about what they are doing".[56] As confidence is, according to Barbalet, a directed emotion; it leads to the question, what this direction consists of.

Symbols

Symbols are one of the main outcomes of IR. According to Durkheim,[57] symbols are "material expressions of another thing". The first question to be asked is, what are these "material expressions" in ICF? The question is more difficult to answer for Protestant traditions than, for example, for Catholicism. Object symbols are rare in ICF, even the cross figures only rarely as common focus of attention on stage. More prominent is the bible, as short quotes from it are displayed on the video screens. Thus present in the form of slogans instead of complicated passages, the bible can be said to constitute a symbol. But the most prominent focus of attention and therefore the central symbol is the preacher himself. This can be confirmed with reference to Durkheim[58] who discusses orators becoming the incarnation and personification of the group.

The second question that needs be asked following Durkheim is what these symbols represent. In the case of charismatic leadership, the preacher is seen as a highly extraordinary person, symbolizing the community by incorporating its transcendent goal. Such charisma is, in its ideal typical form, restricted to one person. This does not fit in with ICF, where different persons act as preachers on different occasions. Instead of stressing his extraordinary capabilities, the preacher presents himself as ordinary ICF members by wearing normal clothes and telling everyday stories of temptation in his own life. Rather than an idol, he is an exemplar, "one of us", symbolizing the relationship to Jesus through paradigmatical stories. So the symbol being celebrated is the semantic focus of evangelicalism: the "believer" and his decision for Jesus and his confidence in the religious symbols. As belief is a matter of individual experience, decision and action, confidence this symbol is at the same time self-confidence.

[55] Barbalet, *Emotion*, 83. Barbalet stresses the point that confidence does not lead to mere conformity but "encourages one to go one's own way". Barbalet, *Emotion*, 86. On the one hand, this holds true for the case in question as the focus on the subject and personal decision gives the members of ICF the feeling of being enabled; on the other hand, this takes place as part of religious conformity.

[56] Collins, *Interaction*, 33; Collins, "Micro-sociology," 2. The confidence is further made possible, through the fact that negative emotions are not being fostered. By and large, fear and guilt seem to be absent. Fear (as for example, from damnation) would impair self-confidence.

[57] Durkheim, *Formes*, 294.

[58] Cf. Durkheim, *formes*, 301.

3 Community, Ritual and Emotion

The IR approach allows the reconstruction of the "mechanisms" at work in religious rituals, the processes yielding emotions, symbols and confidence. In the micro-sociological approach, the level of interaction is the dimension on which sociologists should primarily grasp their subject matter. But the specificity of an emotional setting cannot be understood only through the universal micro-sociological processes that it consists of:[59] The rituals are part of communal practices and beliefs, and the emotions brought forth in the ritual are part of a wider emotional setting, an "emotional regime".[60] To understand the IR in their context, the implications of the communal context for the rituals in its interplay with the ritual consequences for the community have to be taken into account.

In their discourses and practices, religious traditions draw different distinctions. Most essential is the boundary-making between "us" and "them" that is crucial for the production of identity,[61] in addition to other distinctions, for example, between body and soul, good and bad, pure and impure, individual and group, ideal and reality can become an important part of religious concepts or structures. These tensions are being produced by the community itself and are at the same time constitutive of and problematic for it.[62] If community is understood as constituting an emotional regime, the configuration of rituals and emotions has to be looked at as a crucial factor in reconciling these tensions and thus making community possible. Three distinctions that are at work in ICF, which can be considered as typical for evangelical communities, can be identified: First, the tension between transcendence and immanence; second, between individual- and collectivity-orientation; and third, between affectivity and the discipline prescribed by religious norms. The choice of these three pairs has been inspired by three of Talcott Parsons' "pattern variables", each being "a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before the meaning of a situation is determinate for him, and thus before

[59] Cf. Giddens, *Constitution*, 141.

[60] Riis & Woodhead, *Sociology*, 77.

[61] Cf. Douglas, *Natural*, 59; Durkheim, *Formes*, 294.

[62] Catherine Bell's criticism of similar dichotomous distinctions, for example the one between belief and action, has to be kept in mind: She rightly identifies the distinction between belief and action as a highly artificial distinction, drawn by researchers who then proceed to the field, where they realize, much to their surprise, that rituals have the capacity to bring belief and action together again–they conclude that this is the function of the ritual while it is just reality refuting their analytical distinction. Contrary to this, the differences to be treated in the following sections are produced (and ritually reconciled) on the emic level, they are, so to speak, differences that make a distinction in the field. Cf. Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 19-66; Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual. Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 76-83.

he can act with respect to that situation.".[63] As Parsons[64] saw his pattern variables as an elaboration of Tönnies' distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, it is no coincidence that they are useful for the discussion on the possibility of community in modern society. However, their application is based on their heuristic usability and not the acceptance of claims concerning their exhaustiveness or deductive stringency.

(1) Transcendence vs. Immanence

The relation to concepts that transcend the concreteness of everyday life is an important aspect of religious traditions. Religions often postulate a general order of existence through which the world is interpreted.[65] "Immanence" is seen through "transcendence".[66] The relation between transcendence and immanence is conceptualized differently in different traditions. Referring to the ideal-typical distinction made by Max Weber, mystical and pantheistic religiosity sees transcendence as immanent in all this-worldly things and conceptualizes the individual as "vessel" of the divine, while ascetic religiosity assumes a transcendent order "above" the world and sees the individual as god's "tool" in this world.[67] The mystical option is expected to lead towards more ritualized and experiential religiosity, the latter to intellectualized and ethical religiosity.[68]

In modern Western societies, religious traditions show tendencies towards this-worldly forms of transcendence,[69] but this holds not true for evangelicalism. The evangelical outlook of ICF is characterized by concepts stressing other-worldly entities, concepts, and beliefs, the world isn't supposed to be permeated by an immanent spirituality. Norms are derived from other-worldly concepts, to be observed by the individuals in this world. In Evangelicalism, this realization has to take place in everyday life, as ritual salvation is not possible. Further, not only is Evangelicalism based on transcendent concepts with

[63] Talcott Parsons & Edward A. Shils, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in: Talcott Parsons & Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), 47-243, 77. Parsons changed the nomenclature several times and even eliminated one of the pairs. Cf. Talcott Parsons, "Pattern Variables Revisited: A Response to Robert Dubin," *American Sociological Review* 25/4 (1960), 467-483. The three tensions used here further prove to be by and large congruent with the ones Baker identifies following Kelley as dimensions of strictness: Ideological, behavioral and "policing". Baker, "Social," 434; cf. Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

[64] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "On Building Social System Theory: A Personal History," in: Talcott Parsons, *Social Systems and the Evolution of Action Theory* (New York & London: The Free Press, 1977), 22-76, 41.

[65] Cf. Riis & Woodhead, *Sociology*, 69; Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in: Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 87-125, 90.

[66] Cf. Niklas Luhmann, *Die Religion der Gesellschaft (stw 1581)* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002). For the purposes of this analysis, there's no need postulating such transcendence as a universal defining property of religion, it suffices to say that it is found in many traditions – among them the one analyzed here.

[67] Cf. Weber, *Wirtschaft*, 329, 332.

[68] Within the Protestant tradition, a difference on this dimension can be discerned between charismatic/pentecostal movements and the less experientially oriented fundamentalist/evangelical tradition.

[69] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "Religion in Postindustrial America: The Problem of Secularization," *Social Research* 41/2 (1974), 193-225, 211.

an other-worldly god in its center, these concepts themselves are disembedded from the context the believers live in.[70] The main challenge in rendering religious beliefs and norms relevant, is to able to make them applicable to the very immanent questions of everyday life.

One possibility for this application is the reference to a differentiated system of theology, with its own institutions, specialists and education. To bring religious concepts and life together, theologians offer what might be called a "double contextualization" of religious meaning: First, they interpret it within its theological context and second, they apply it to the this-worldly situation in question. Through such theological rationalizations, the symbol system gains autonomy and becomes more abstract and generalized. This solution to the reconciliation of transcendence and immanence is typical for mainline reformed Protestantism. But contrary to this form of Protestantism that shaped its environment, the evangelical outlook of ICF seeks a different solution. Instead of drawing on theological rationalization, the gap between transcendent religious concepts and the world is bridged ritually.

To understand the conditions and consequences of this, the concept of "ritualization" is useful, as it abandons the dichotomous distinction ritual/non-ritual for a continuum of different degrees of ritualization.[71] The more "restricted"[72] codes are, the more ritualized the communication is. A highly standardized and formalized language is an indicator for highly ritualized communication[73] which does not allow much variation and typically has the form of songs, spells, or formalized oration. As opposed to this, a set of codes characterized by a more flexible and "elaborate" language cannot be highly ritualized. Sophisticated theological arguments cannot be sung about, but have to be explained in elaborated sermons.

In ICF, the religious teachings are boiled down to a simplicity[74] and concreteness that allows for the ritualization of the core beliefs: Sophisticated theological arguments are deliberately bypassed,. The decision for Jesus focused on by ICF is communicated as matter of unambiguous "Yes" or "No" and is given a paradigmatic status for all decisions to be taken by the individual: For example, being with Jesus means being opposed to homosexuality and pre-marital sex. In their simplicity, these consequences can be ritually displayed through repetitive phrases, short stories, stage play, and lyrics. During the very immanent happenings of the rituals reconstructed above, the central aspects

[70] The social form of such a religion is the "sect" in the Weberian sense, the exclusive community based on individual decision and ongoing probation.

[71] Cf. Bell, *Ritual*.

[72] Douglas, *Natural*, 49.

[73] Cf. Maurice Bloch, "Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation: Is Religion an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority?," in: Maurice Bloch, *Ritual, History and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology* (London: The Athlone Press, 1989), 19-45, 22-23.

[74] "Simplicity" is not meant in a derogatory way. Actually, it reproduces the self-understanding of ICF, which explicitly values its direct and easy understandable message. In the anti-theologian stance of ICF, learned doctrinal arguments are frowned upon.

of belief are being episodically narrated or enacted, collectively shared, and emotionally charged. Rather than being translated verbally, the beliefs are transformed into action to be made plausible,[75] in Collins' terms, they are ritually imbued with emotions and charged with EE. As Durkheim[76] recognized, a unity of cognition, action, and emotion is being produced: In the course of rituals, what is being perceived, done, and felt is mutually reinforcing.

The unity of concept and action is also to be found on the role-level: The preacher does not act as an intellectual religious expert. Through the personal stories that he is telling, he acts as an exemplar for the decision for Jesus. He stands for religious truth and everyday action at the same time. The same holds true for the individual participant: The confidence he feels is largely self-confidence because his own actions and positions are confirmed during the Celebrations and not some abstract knowledge. This way, the Celebrations accomplish the transformation of transcendent concepts into the concreteness of mutual action, experience, and emotion. In the ritual form of ICF's Celebrations, immanence and transcendence render each other plausible,[77] as the latter informs the former and is being reinforced by it.

(2) Self-Orientation vs. Collectivity-Orientation

Individualization is a major societal as well as religious trend in Western societies. The importance of the individual is increasing in two dimensions:[78] The level of semantics, at which the individual becomes the main theme of religions; and the level of structure, where the individual is more and more free to take decisions concerning his religious beliefs, practices, and affiliations. As observed especially in the field of New Religious Movements,[79] the increasing importance of the individual leads to non-committal forms of religious relations, and therefore to a transformation of communities into network structures.

In ICF, individualization can be identified on both levels just mentioned: First, the individual and its salvation is the main focus of religious semantics. Second, salvation and religious affiliation are seen as an ascriptive achievement and as such a matter of individual decision. Further, ICF as a community sees itself neither as a sufficient, nor as a necessary condition for salvation. Neither is there a priest-role that could bestow salvation, nor are rituals capable of doing so. This double prevalence of the individual would suggest the assumption that ICF is a mere group of self-interested individuals. As

[75] Cf. Durkheim, *Formes*, 596.
[76] Cf. Durkheim, *Formes*, 596; Geertz, "Religion," 118.
[77] Cf. Luhmann, *Religion*, 63.
[78] Cf. Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, "Individualisierung: Differenzierungsprozess und Zurechnungsmodus," in: Ulrich Beck & Peter Sopp, *Individualisierung und Integration. Neue Konfliktlinien und neuer Integrationsmodus?* (Opladen: Leske+Budrich, 1997), 23-35, 34.
[79] Cf. Lüddeckens & Walthert, "Ende".

the community is in need for solidarity and orientation towards the collectivity to exist, the structural and semantic prevalence of the individual leads to the question, how ICF can still exist as a community.[80]

It is tempting to answer this question by referring to the functional importance of collectivity for the individual just showed in the analysis of the ritual: Individuality derives from individual beliefs, individual beliefs are made plausible in situations of collective effervescence, collective effervescence is the result of the collective; therefore the collective is functionally indispensable, if there is individual religiosity. But to deduce the existence of a social institution from its functional importance would be to commit the unfruitful functionalist fallacy of affirming the consequent.[81]

The perspective on ritual and emotion allows the recognition of structures that reproduce a community independent of individualized semantics. The individuals contribute as part of a rhythmically entrained collectivity to its formation. As was shown with Collins, this takes place beyond the purposes individuals consciously pursue. The participants are emotionally drawn to, and into, the successful interaction of the Celebrations, and in the course of their participation, they are tacitly integrated into the processes of externalization of symbols that confirms a shared symbolic vocabulary.[82] Even if they just seek personal entertainment or individual salvation, it is through their ritual participation that they reproduce the semantics and structures on the communal level. As Collins and Barbalet[83] agree, individuals don't rationally calculate and choose among emotions and emotional benefits, but their emotions and their action connected with it are ritually induced and produced. Therefore, in Bourdieu's terms,[84] rituals are to be understood as practice; an activity that might be based on individual actions, but stands beyond individual consciousness and decision making. The emotional regime is neither established nor sustained by calculating actors, but is a part of a communal practice.[85] And as such a practice it leads to the reproduction of community–whatever its symbolic content as recognized by the individuals might be.[86] Durkheim's[87] observation that the Aborigines believe that they worship their god but that this god in fact stands for the clan itself,

[80] See for the discussion concerning the importance of this question also Baker, "Social".

[81] Cf. Carl G. Hempel, "The Logic of Functional Analysis," in: Carl G. Hempel, *Aspects of Scientific Explanation. And Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science* (New York & London: The Free Press and Collier-MacMillan Limited, 1965), 297-330, 314; Giddens, *Constitution*, 12. For example, the non-functionalist perspective of Weber (1988) allowed observation of how the beliefs of a religious tradition and their far-reaching consequences led to their own decline:

[82] Cf. Riis & Woodhead, *Sociology*.

[83] Cf. Barbalet, *Emotion*, 23.

[84] Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1980).

[85] See also Barbalet, *Emotion*, 23.

[86] Such a perspective shows that practice theory could gain from integrating the category of emotion. See Schatzki who points to the fact that the emotional dimension is missing in the practice theories of Bourdieu and Giddens and suggests ways of integrating it. Cf. Theodore R. Schatzki, "Practices and Actions A Wittgensteinian Critique of Bourdieu and Giddens," *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 27/283 (1997), 283-308, 302.

[87] Cf. Durkheim, *Formes*, 295

applies here, too: The individual and its very personal relationship to Jesus is being celebrated on the explicit and symbolic side, but celebrating it leads to the confirmation and reproduction of the community. While the Aborigines thought that it is all about spiritual beings and the rules of the totem system, in the symbolic center of ICF stands the individual and its personal relation to Jesus, but as the analysis of the ritual shows, as well as worshipping totem beings, this leads to the unintended consequence of social solidarity.[88]

(3) Canalizing emotions: Discipline vs. affectivity

The last tension to be discussed is the one between normative discipline and emotional affectivity. By acting based on affective decisions, individuals seek immediate gratification within a certain situation, while following a discipline means to take evaluative standards into consideration at the expense of affective spontaneity.[89] This distinction between the gratification of acute needs versus the satisfaction achieved by following rules resonates Weber's characterization of the ideal type of "affektuellem Handeln", which denotes action that is motivated by immediate emotional rewards.

Especially the restrictions concerning pre-marital sex and drug use point towards the importance of discipline in ICF. Their normative postulations concern issues that have the potential for affective aspects. In situations thus regulated, the norms of ICF deny affective choices like drug use or premarital sex, as they are not in accordance with its moral concepts.[90] In a continuum between moral discipline and affectivity, ICF is to be placed nearer to the former.[91] In Douglas' terms, ICF is to be placed highly on the "grid" as well as the "group" dimension, a configuration characterized by "a routinized piety towards authority and its symbols; beliefs in a punishing, moral universe, and a category of rejects.".[92]

Tensions between affection and discipline are to be expected, especially because young

[88] This works below the threshold of the awareness of the participants and is, according to Durkheim, recognized by the sociologist who knows better. But this ritual practice can itself become part of the discursive consciousness: The Celebration gains symbolic value itself because it is seen as an activity experienced and considered as successful. It plays an important part in the self-understanding of its members. Thus, it becomes gratifying for them to participate in this success by helping to organize it. That is how ritual practice does not only integrate the average members into collective action but also creates a core of highly active members.

[89] Cf. Parsons & Shils, "Values," 80. Parsons and Shils even consider this tension to be "the most elementary dilemma of systems of action". Parsons & Shils, "Values," 84.

[90] Of course, it might be emotionally rewarding to deny oneself such thoughts, but especially new members or members harboring doubts probably experience a difference between immediate wants and communal oughts. This is the more critical, as the communal norms concerning sexuality are not shared in the wider society.

[91] The case stands in congruence with Weber's thesis of ascetic Protestantism being the origin of the control of affect by religious discipline. Cf. Max Weber, "Die protestantischen Sekten und der Geist des Kapitalismus," in: Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie I* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1988), 207-236; see also Gerhards, "Affektuelles".

[92] Douglas, *Natural*, 87.

people form the main constituency of ICF. The rules of ICF apply to those parts of their life that are of special importance during their stage of life and are imbued with affectivity. Considering the renouncement of affective choices as it is observed here, Mustafa Emirbayer suspects a shortcoming in IR theory: "Collins seems to ignore those cases in which normative commitments (as structured by collective symbols) direct actors away from situations promising the highest-energy yields–precisely those situations that would predictably be of greatest appeal to them.".[93] An important qualification that allows understanding of this seemingly paradox situation is offered by Barbalet:[94] The distinction between affectivity and affective neutrality is not congruent with the distinction between emotional and non-emotional. Discipline and normative directions cannot be equated with the absence of emotions, because, to follow normative rules leads to emotions as well – for example, satisfaction or feelings of superiority. The opposition between affectivity and affective neutrality derives from differences in the degree of conscious consideration of evaluative standards, not in differences concerning emotionality per se. An affective choice is based on the emotional promises of the immediate situation which offer advantages wholly isolated from any further considerations and which are opted for without reflexive reference to general standards.

In a ritual like the one observed here, the contradiction between affective gratification and discipline is overturned: The course of action which is affect-based and emotionally immediately gratifying is also in accordance with the rules of the community.[95] Affect and discipline are no longer competing alternatives that diminish each other, because the decision for one of them might lead to regretting the loss of the other; instead, they become mutually reinforcing. The paradigmatical relationship between Jesus and the individual, which the latter experiences ritually during the Celebrations and which is the core symbol of the religious commitment, is doubly gratifying. The congruence of affect and norm is crucial for the experience of confidence. This confidence and the double gratification can again be confirmed, if love and intimate relationship are shaped after, and are in accordance with, the paradigmatical model celebrated ritually. While Barbalet points to the difference between "self-attention" that follows from discipline and narrows the range of action and confidence that "encourages one to go one's own way",[96] the emotional result of the ritual is that self-attention and confidence become congruent. Thanks to this, the emotional regime of the community is carried out of the ritual and into the bedrooms of its members. The emotional identification with the communal symbols surpasses the affective temptations as well as the cognitive difference to the rules of wider society.

[93] Emirbayer, "Useful," 120.

[94] Cf. Barbalet, *Emotion*.

[95] Through harmonious interaction the participants of the ritual show each other that they are on the "right track". See Durkheim: "L'homme qui fait son devoir trouve, dans les manifestations de toute sorte par lesquelles s'expriment la sympathie, l'estime, l'affections que ses semblables on pour lui.". Durkheim, *Formes*, 302.

[96] Barbalet, *Emotion*, 86.

One qualification is of special importance: There is no data about the degree of conformity to the norms concerning premarital sexual intercourse or homosexuality among the young evangelicals studied here. But the point is that on the level of ritual interaction, there is no knowledge about it either. The "moral threshold" for participation is low. For the participation in interactions it is irrelevant whether or not the rules communicated have been followed. The ritual communication of the Celebrations does not offer the capacity for individual testimonies. While it could be showed how emotional individual involvement is crucial for the ritual, at the same time, rituals are highly impervious to individual backgrounds and thoughts during the performance. For the affective celebration of discipline in ritual, it is not important whether "true love waits" or not. The production of collectivity observed in the last paragraph happens as long as bodily conformity with the ritual structures necessary for collective effervescence is granted. Because the norms postulated are precarious in modern societies, resorting to rituals is a safe way to integrate individuals: Ritual success can be achieved, because reference to doubts or deviance is structurally ruled out.

4 Conclusion

Theories of societalization argue that modernisation leads to a decline of communal forms of solidarity and to their transformation into societal relations.[97] But as the existence and sometimes even growth of Evangelical communities shows, this process is not inevitable. By analyzing an Evangelical community that was founded in a secularized context but managed to grow and attain stability, this paper deals with the question, how community is possible. As the ICF "Celebration" shows strong similarities to the services at the Willow Creek Community Church and other Evangelical congregations, these findings proposes an answer to the general question about the relative success of strict Protestant communities.[98]

To discuss the construction and the role of community, Max Weber's concept is helpful: Loosely following Ferdinand Tönnies,[99] Weber contrasts "Vergemeinschaftung" (community) with Vergesellschaftung (society)[100]. Bringing this distinction together with his four

[97] Cf. Steve Bruce, *God is Dead. Secularization in the West (Religion in the Modern World)* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

[98] Cf. Baker, "Social"; Mark Chaves, *American Religion: Contemporary Trends* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

[99] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie. 3., unveränd. Aufl. des Neudrucks der 8. Aufl. von 1935 (Bibliothek klassischer Texte)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991).

[100] By using the terms "Vergemeinschaftung" and "Vergesellschaftung" instead of "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft" Weber intended to prevent the impression of reification and stress the aspect of processuality. Cf. Klaus Lichtblau, "Vergemeinschaftung und Vergesellschaftung bei Max Weber. Eine Rekonstruktion seines Sprachgebrauchs," *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 29/6 (2000), 423-441, 440; Tyrell Hartmann, "Max Webers Soziologie - eine Soziologie ohne Gesellschaft," in: Gerhard Wagner & Heinz Zipprian (eds.), *Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre. Interpreation und Kritik (stw 1118)* (Frankfurt am

ideal types of legitimation of authority, Weber sees society as based on the conscious commitment to values or purposive action, and community as based on traditional adherence or affective affiliation. While traditional community gains legitimacy through reference to the past, affective community is based on the presence, the "feelings between the members" and the mutual orientation deriving from them.[101] As modern societies do not function as "societies of memory",[102] traditions lose their taken-for-grantedness. For a community to achieve plausibility, the dimension of affection, which Weber equates with emotions, gains importance. The religious tradition of a community, which refers to the past,[103] has to be ritually charged with emotions and commitment, as has been discussed above. While the basic properties of the mechanisms identified in IR are the same in a hockey game as in a religous service, the specific features of the ritual and emotional regime found at work in the Evangelical community analyzed here can be summarized as follows:

First, the simplification of religious concepts: The more simplified religious concepts are, the easier can they be translated into ritualized interaction where they are imbued with EE. The central ideas of a communal belief system often do not find resonance in the society surrounding them and are characterized by highly transcendent concepts. But in ritualized form, they gain immanence and become relevant for the actions of the participants. This ritual action is characterized by the congruence of the individual behavior and emotions with the highly standardized communal standards and symbols.

Second, the role of the individual and its integration into the community: The focus of the religious symbolism of ICF lies on the person, not the collectivity. This increases the compatibility with society, in which the autonomy of the individual is highly valued. But the perspective on emotion and ritual helps the sociological perspective to avoid being taken in by the obvious importance of the individual: Situations of collective effervescence, consisting of collectively shared emotions produced in orchestrated interaction of co-presence, and the tendency of individuals to participate in emotionally gratifying situations, lead to solidarity. The celebration of the self takes place collectively and has collective consequences. The communal symbols produced in these situations denote the individual relationship with Jesus. The individual and the community are brought together, since confidence in these symbols is at the same time self-confidence. As an emotional practice, the ritual creates symbols and fosters long-term confidence and through this makes, once again, religious community possible.

Main: Suhrkamp, 1994), 390-414, 392.

[101] Cf. Weber, *Wirtschaft*, 22

[102] Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

[103] Hervieu-Léger, *Religion*, 100.

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